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FOREWORD

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THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE

[This report contains two articles on Sino-Soviet relations selected from Spanish-language Latin American publications. Detailed source information is given under the individual article headings.]

<u>Table of Contents</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. Communist Chinese Pamphlet Underscores Russo-Chinese Dispute	1
II. Relations Between the USSR and China	4

I. COMMUNIST CHINESE PAMPHLET UNDERSCORES
RUSSO-CHINESE DISPUTE

[Following is the translation of an article by
Eduardo Castillo Wong in the Spanish-language publication
El Universal (The Universal), 25 May 1962.]

A little book about de-Stalinization published in Peking to oppose this policy proposed by the dictator of Moscow and make fun of it--a policy which Red China does not want to adopt under any circumstance--has been successful. The little book or pamphlet to which I am referring is circulating widely in all countries in various languages; apparently editions have been published for every one of the countries in the red orbit, including the USSR, and also, it is clear, for countries of the free world.

In one way, the scandal about this pamphlet dates from 28 March, when the Roman newspaper Il Messaggero (The Messenger) inserted a very informative item dated Moscow under the headline, "A Book Published in Peking that Praises Stalin's Work." It is a 14-page pamphlet with the title, Josef Vissarionovich Stalin, Our Great Leader and Teacher.

We could not call it a great literary work, a model of political literature, or a venomous lampoon. Its value lies in nothing more than that it publicly exposes the intensity and rancor of the fight between Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung.

The pamphlet, published in Peking by the government office "Publications in Foreign Languages," appeared first in the Russian language. In this way it took on the character of a direct message to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Almost as an official document, the pamphlet was addressed under a suitable envelope to the principal leaders of the Communist Parties of the USSR and its allies on the occasion of the 82nd anniversary of Stalin's birth.

We read in the pamphlet printed in English which reached us just a few days ago that "on the 21st of December the loyal members of the Communist parties and all the workers' associations celebrated the anniversary of the birth of one of the greatest representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet state itself, a man who was a great Marxist-Leninist."

Our readers will understand from the tenor of the above-quoted statement that it is a question of a very effusive, very vehement homage by the present heads of the Chinese nation to the semi-god that the iconoclasts of Russia have knocked down from his exalted niche.

CPYRGHT

The author and editors of the pamphlet, recapturing the Stalinist glory, make the following statement: "Stalin dedicated himself wholly to the cause of the proletarian revolution and was an implacable enemy of imperialism. A vigorous champion, he assumed the defense of his socialist country at all times and devoted his maximum efforts to the expansion of Marxism-Leninism throughout the entire world, while at the same time he gave aid, without any restricting conditions, to all the groups that worked for the liberation of subject peoples. Stalin was also a defender of universal peace."

To dispel the notion that Stalin's worshipers are blinded by emotion, the pamphlet admits that that leader committed errors, but it urges that they not be taken into consideration because "in spite of his greatness and his extraordinary genius, Stalin was not a demigod, nor did he make any attempt to be taken for any such thing. We Communists also make errors ..."

Stalin had no lesson to go by in order to avoid errors since he was carrying out plans without any precedent whatsoever in the life of peoples. He could have no teacher because his work lacked any previous history. It was in Russia that the dictatorship of the proletariat was introduced for the first time. Those who accomplished this feat had no models to imitate, nor could they be evaluated by reference to former leaders.

On the other hand, the Chinese pamphlet severely criticizes the way Khrushchev has been carrying on relations with the West because, according to the Chinese, the cause of the socialist bloc is endangered by his tactics.

Mao Tse-tung's Reds do not approve the policy of coexistence nor any other action that weakens the world struggle for the liberation of countries "subjugated by capitalist imperialism." But what incenses the authors of the Chinese pamphlet the most is the terrible Khrushchevian propaganda denouncing the errors of Stalin.

The Moscow dictator started his campaign against the powerful Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, and at the 22nd one he reached the height of audacity.

The Peking government disallows any intention on the part of Moscow to find a solution to the problem of disarmament. The Red Chinese do not want peace, nor do they want tolerance, nor do they mean to compromise with any capitalist government. To them the present President of the United States is nothing more than a vile "fascist." China has been helping the weak countries to liberate themselves from the Western powers and accuses Khrushchev of acting with too much moderation in this matter.

CPYRGHT

The Chinese supply arms and ammunition to the Algerians; they grant legal recognition to the provisional government and do other things on behalf of the Communist cause, while the Soviets only intervene later on in order not to stir up de Gaulle's ill will. Indeed, the China of Mao appears to be resolved, in spite of any information to the contrary, to oppose Nikita Khrushchev very courageously.

6244

II. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND CHINA

[Following is the translation of an article by Carlos de Barbibar in the Spanish-language newspaper El Mercurio (The Mercury), Santiago, Chile, 30 May 1962, page 3.]

CPYRGHT

The information and propaganda services of Communist China have distributed in the western world and in the "neutralist" world, at least, an interesting 10-page pamphlet with an attractive red cover page featuring the portrait of Stalin. The title could not be more challenging to his successor and ex-accomplice Nikita Khrushchev, especially after his second defamatory attack on the Caligula of the Kremlin at the recent 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR. In fact, in the upper part of the cover page appears: "In commemoration of the anniversary of the birth of Josef Vissarionovich Stalin". And, in order that there may be no doubt, on the lower part is added: "Our great leader and teacher, 1879-1953"; while on the back cover we see an illustration -- much more "corny" even than the portrait--which represents a parade of the toughest Russo-Chinese leaders during some official reception, headed by Stalin to the right of Mao Tse-tung, in back of whom Molotov, Chou En-lai, and others of both bands or coteries are walking.

Printed in the People's Republic of China by its publishing office "Editions in Foreign Languages, Peking, 1962", the pamphlet -- with a fine sense of propaganda -- confines itself to a brief introduction followed by a series of quotations of what the main "de-Stalinizers" of today said about Stalin at a time when none of them dared to utter a word, considering his temper and greatness, for very compelling reasons of "personal safety," as Khrushchev himself explained to the astonished 20th Congress of the aforesaid Communist Party when the abuse of the idol started.

As the reader will understand, the "introduction" is the least of it, and the small printing points it out in this way. The delightful part of it is the following anthology, very much in the style of the pamphlets printed so successfully in Santiago by the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, which are completely out of print today, entitled This is the Way they Saw Stalin and Khrushchev vs Stalin, in which the ex-worshippers of the monster were presented in a ridiculous light on this subject. Here is a small sample of the slanted Chinese pamphlet:

By Khrushchev: "Long live our master and leader, the greatest genius among humanity, who is leading us victoriously to Communism!" (Khrushchev's speech at the 18th Congress of the CPSU, 1939); "Long live the wise leader of the Party and people, the inspirer and organizer of our victories, Comrade Stalin!" (By the same N. K. at the 19th Congress, 1952).

CPYRGHT

By Mikoyan: "Comrade Stalin not only has perfect command of the whole literature of Marx, Engels, and Lenin... but he also enriches Marxism-Leninism with great discoveries and continues developing the Marxist-Leninist theory." (Published in Rabotnischesko Delo, Sofia, 1 July 1950)

By Ulbricht: "Stalin was a wise commander who made every important decision and solely by himself led the nation to victory over fascism." (Neues Deutschland, 19 March 1956).

And so on.

How will this heavy-caliber explosion come back to roost on Khrushchev and the present official position of the CPSU among the "bonzes" [high priests of the party--translator] and the activists of their various fifth columns in the world, to which they are basically addressed? Will it contribute toward strengthening the good feelings of those who thought that to be a Stalinist constituted the highest honor and hierarchy, as a certain great prophet said? Naturally, we do not know.

However this may be, it will be well not to allow ourselves too many illusions about this new, well-known evidence of the ideological conflict between the Soviet Union and the China of Mao Tse-tung. Furthermore, there is no reason to minimize it either. Let's have a look at how this questionable, cautious appraisal is justified.

First of all, it is evident that no Communist, however visionary he might be, would have dared to predict between 1920 and 1930--once the dream of imminent world revolution stirred up by the Kremlin was dissipated--the development assumed by the sect since the last general conflagration, in which the Soviet regime would have been destroyed without the sacrifices and efforts of the Western world to help it, in addition, of course, to the heroism with which the Russian people responded to the call to a patriotic war--not in the name of Marx or Lenin, of course, nor of the Soviet Revolution, but in the name of old Mother Russia, the holy Russia of Dostoevsky and the czars. In fact today, with the Western world strictly on the defensive for a good many years, and with the Communists now in possession of one-third of the earth, it is logical for many Communists to believe that the realization of their dream of universal superiority is within reach of their iron determination.

However, at this seemingly propitious stage in the preparation for their final, definitive triumph, the deep conflict existing between Communist Russia and China is becoming glaringly acute since the very

CPYRGHT

"heroic" epoch of the latter so admirably depicted by Malraux. Events are flowing as if the Marxist prophecies that were unfulfilled within national boundaries and insofar as the old imperialisms were concerned, were now going to be fulfilled in the Communist universe. The rivalries proclaimed for the Western imperialist camp (Lenin said), are actually occurring in the "Eastern" camp, where affairs are becoming entangled to the point where a division is observed between the two new imperialisms: Moscow on the one hand with her European "satellites," minus the Albanian satellite; and on the other hand, Peking, with the Communist Asiatic countries plus Albania, with both contending for influence over the Communist parties of the countries free from their domination and the governments of the "third world," with clear preponderance, for the time being, for Moscow.

Naturally, it is not a question of any irreparable rupture, at least not in the present situation. Whenever they deem it advisable, there will be joint new statements about the indestructible union of the socialist camp and the substantial unity of doctrine, purposes, etc. But there is already much evidence that the famous monolith has ceased to be one, and instead has made way for a conglomeration in which, in addition to the two aforementioned basic sources, Yugoslavia shines her own light on one side, while Poland occupies a special, less clear but also distinctly colored, position. Then there are the positions of other Euro-Asiatic countries of the two young empires, although less perceptible still.

For the time being, there is no room for doubt about the clear superiority of the USSR in the whole conglomeration, because of her industrial development, her military power, and the additional economic strength which her central European colonies represent, even if the demographic difference of the whole in the face of Red China and her dependencies is so great. However, one cannot have any doubt either about the deep concern of the Kremlin before the specter of an industrialized China with, in her turn, possession of real nuclear arms. The fact is so evident also to better informed observers that there is no lack of those who believe that the impressive number of nuclear tests recently carried out by the USSR had as a principal objective, even more than to demonstrate her present strength, to keep very much ahead of what China is capable of becoming in a few years in the sinister art of mass destruction, and that this was well worth facing the general unpopularity of such tests.

In this respect, different reports about the present situation appear to confirm that there are now four reactors in operation in China (in Peking, Harbin, Chungking, and Siak), which as yet are incapable of producing the necessary plutonium for a single atomic bomb a year. However, perhaps one of them may soon carry out its first experiment of

CPYRGHT

the kind, which, if it succeeds, will cause evident psychological excitement in the free world as well as in the USSR, which, it has appeared certain for some time, does not promise China any assistance on this specific point.

That historic fact, which could be very close at hand, will, whether one likes it or not, represent a decrease in Moscow's prestige in the Communist world as a superpower, master, and guide of the world; and will mean the introduction of a new factor of disturbance -- or at least of complication -- in the grave problems, such as disarmament (to cite merely the main one), which they have not as yet been able to resolve properly.

Could it be that that moment -- predicted in one form or another by so many prophets -- is drawing near when the interests of the USSR and those of Communist China do not coincide? Furthermore, will there be an essential incompatibility between the interests of the Muscovite neo-imperialism and the interests of international Communism, a hypothesis which appears to be anticipated in the new book of Djilas -- Conversations with Stalin -- where it is stated that the Kremlin abandoned the Chinese, Spanish, and Yugoslav revolutions at the most propitious time for spreading Communism in these several countries? If we add (as it can be assumed Djilas will do if he goes more deeply into the subject) that the Greek, French, and other Communists were also left to their fate or held back when they thought they were going to be able to realize their dream, the conclusion as to the fundamental deviousness of Soviet policy in this respect is inescapable, because evidently in general it appears to encourage socializing, democratic revolutions only to take possession of them immediately afterwards and pervert them, as it did in Cuba and as it is now attempting to do in Venezuela. However, at the same time, when it is geopolitically convenient to this policy, it checks revolutionary movements led by its own Communists, seemingly under more favorable conditions, to seize power by violence.

These dramatic contradictions, which now make any constructive democratic revolution of a socialist nature a trifle less than impossible in the world, prove that what come first in the Kremlin are Russian imperialist interests. Will the law be fulfilled when these interests clash head-on with those of Communist China if China attempts seriously to frustrate them?

6244

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- 7 -